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Discerning the Divine and the Demonic in the *Life Of Antony*

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In the *Iliad*, Oileus's son declares, 'It is not difficult to recognize a god'.¹ His confidence, however, was not shared by everyone. Odysseus, for example, complains to Pallas Athene,

Goddess ... it is difficult for a person to recognize you at sight, however knowledgeable they may be, for you have a way of putting on all manner of disguises.²

Throughout the ancient and medieval world dreams and visions were regarded as one of the most direct means whereby the divine will was revealed. Experience of such revelations, however, was frequently accompanied by a series of pertinent questions. Did pagan dreamers and visionaries believe that their gods and goddesses sent such things themselves, or that their own souls undertook some kind of ascent to these higher beings while their bodies rested? How far were their beliefs shared by the early generations of Christians? If dreams and visions had a divine source, could they also have a demonic one? Could demons deceive people into believing that their experiences were divinely inspired? And, perhaps most pertinently of all, how could a mortal discern whether a dream or a vision had a divine or demonic origin? How could a mortal recognize a god?

From the most cursory of glances at any of the numerous primary sources on dreams and visions, it soon becomes apparent that such questions were by no means peripheral to men and women in Antiquity or the Middle Ages. Moreover, any further examination of this material shows that these concerns were common to people from a variety of classes and localities. In this paper I should like to consider some aspects of these concerns and in doing so, I shall pay particular attention to one of the late third-/early fourth-century fathers of Christian monasticism, Antony of Egypt (251?-356), whose *Life*, with its wealth of accounts of oneiric and visionary experiences, divine

and demonic, was to have a profound influence in the fourth and subsequent centuries.

It seems that knowledge alone was insufficient to distinguish between unearthly beings. When it came to a matter of dreams and visions, then, how could mortals determine whether these had a divine or demonic origin? In both pagan and Christian cultures, men and women believed that such understanding came through the gift of discernment (*διακρίσις*, *discretio*). This spiritual gift enabled a person to distinguish accurately between the different types of thought that came to mind and treat them accordingly. Discernment was highly regarded in pagan *Lives* and was commented upon by late ancient and early medieval biographers. A couple of examples may be given to illustrate this point. In Flavius Philostratus' early third-century biography of the neopythagorean philosopher, Apollonius of Tyana (d. c.98), Apollonius mocks the emperor's lack of discernment when the latter confuses him with a demon:

I thought your majesty, like Diomedes of old in Troy, enjoyed the special protection of Athena! She removed the mist which obscures our mortal sight from Diomedes' eyes and gave him the power to discern between gods and mortals. You, on the other hand, have not yet been favoured with any such purification by the goddess - which is a pity!³

In his late third-/early fourth-century biography of Pythagoras (fl. 531 BC), Iamblichus attributes his subject's perception of 'the truth about all created things' and 'the purification of his intellect' to 'the clear vision of his eye ... completely prepared and developed by appropriate aids'. Iamblichus continues, 'Such was the model of [Pythagoras'] teaching and training, and to this he directed his attention'.⁴

On the other hand, Christ criticised the Pharisees and Saducees for their lack of discernment: "You hypocrites!", He exclaimed. "You know how to interpret (*δοκιμαζειν*) the appearance of earth and sky; but why do you not know how to interpret the present time?" [Lk. 12:56].

What distinguishes Antony of Egypt's gift of discernment as portrayed in the *Life of Antony*, together with various *apophthegmata* associated with the saint, was not only his own ability to discern those revelations inspired by God from those coming from the Devil but also his teaching which enabled others to discover the charism

within themselves, and what distinguishes the *Life of Antony* is its emphasis on faith and asceticism, rather than intellectual and philosophical argument. For Antony, his hagiographer and commentators, there is no question that dreams and visions could indeed have a divine origin. Such experiences were accompanied with 'tranquillity and gentleness', filling the recipient with joy and delight in the knowledge that the revelation was sent by God:

A vision of holy ones does not create a disturbance for *He will not cry or lift up his voice, or make it heard in the street* [Is. 42:2; Mt. 12:19] but comes with such tranquillity and gentleness that joy and delight immediately enter the soul because the Lord, who is our joy, *the power of God the Father* [1 Cor. 1:24], is with them. The soul's thoughts, shining brightly, remain calm and untroubled, enabling it to see by its own light those who appear. The soul is overcome by a desire for divine and future favours and longs to be entirely united with these beings. If only it could depart in their company!⁵

This description is so closely followed by Diadochos, the mid-fifth century bishop of Photiki in northern Greece, in his *Κεφάλαια γνωστικά*, *On Spiritual Knowledge and Discernment*, that the later passage deserves to be given in full:

The dreams which appear through the love of God to the soul are unerring criteria of its health. Such dreams are immutable. They do not disturb our internal sense, resound with laughter, or suddenly become threatening but come to the soul with such gentleness that they fill it with spiritual delight. Even after the body has woken, the soul longs to recapture the joy given to it by the dream.⁶

Demonic dreams and visions, however, caused mental disturbance, terrifying and confusing the soul:

On the other hand, the appearance and onslaught of demons is troubling, with banging, noise and shouting; the sort of disturbance one might expect from tough youths and robbers. Consequently, terror, disorder and confusion of thoughts, dejection, enmity towards ascetics, listlessness, grief, memory

of relatives and fear of death immediately arise in the soul. Finally, there is a craving for evil, contempt for virtue and instability of character. (VA, 36)

Let this, also, be a sign for you: when the soul remains fearful, that is due to the presence of Enemies, for demons do not remove the fear caused by such appearances ... on the contrary, when they see people who are fearful, they multiply the apparitions in order to terrify them all the more, and then descend in order to malign them, crying, "Fall down and worship me" [cf. Mt. 4:9]. (VA, 37)

Again, Diadochos' description of such experiences is strikingly similar to the passages quoted from the *Life of Antony*:

On the other hand, demonic fantasies are the very opposite: they soon change shape and form, for what demons lack as their chosen form of life but simply assume on account of their inherent deceitfulness is unable to satisfy them for very long. They shout and threaten ... sometimes deafening the soul with their cries. (Diadochos, 37)

To disorder and terrify all the more, demons frequently adopted the forms of wordless wild beasts and reptiles. On one occasion, such beings apparently filled a tomb in which Antony was dwelling but, in spite of their terrible sounds and debased ragings, the hermit poured scorn on them:

If you really had any power, it would have been sufficient for just one of you to come but, since the Lord has weakened you, you try by all possible means to frighten me by your number; it is a sign of your weakness that you imitate the forms of irrational beasts. (VA, 9)

The demons are described as eventually leaving Antony alone, snarling in frustration because they had made fools, not of him, but of themselves.

Antony's hagiographer also records how the Devil tried to lure the saint away from the ascetic life, implicitly warning his audience of the

subtle tactics of demons who wish to prevent brothers from following the discipline of asceticism. Among these tactics, the Devil reminded Antony of his possessions, the guardianship of his sister, the bonds of kinship, love of money and of glory, the pleasures of food, the relaxations of life and, finally, not only how rigorous the virtuous life is, but also how much labour is involved in earning it, suggesting bodily weakness and length of time involved.⁷ Not surprisingly, accounts of demons tempting monks away from asceticism were to recur throughout medieval literature, in both Byzantium and the west.

Demons also tempted monks away from the right path by persuading them to listen to their prophecies. Antony is reported directing his followers not to pay any attention to such words, warning that those who do heed demons become ensnared by them.⁸ When demons failed to trap the wary through temptations or false prophecies, they launched other attacks, which included afflicting adults and children alike with possession: one demon caused a young man to emit an extremely pungent stench, whilst another forced a nobleman to eat his own excrement and a third threw a terribly distressed girl to the ground.⁹ While fears of such dangers persisted, there arose a need for spiritual direction, specifically regarding discernment, and evidently such a need was urgent.

The writer of the *Life of Antony* provided this direction in two ways: by presenting details from Antony's life and then reinforcing this with his subject's teaching, both in a late ancient hagiographical style. The one complemented the other. Firstly, several instances are given from the hermit's life where he was helped by God to overcome the Devil. On one occasion, when the latter was unable to overpower the man and was being exorcised from his heart, Antony gave thanks to the Lord and responds boldly to the demon,

'You are greatly to be despised, then, for you are black of mind and like a powerless child. From now on you cause me no anxiety, for *the Lord is on my side to help me; I shall look in triumph on those who hate me*' [Ps. 118:7]. Hearing these words, the black one immediately fled, cowering at the words and afraid even to approach the man. (VA, 6)

A little later in the hagiography, Antony hears the Divine Voice assuring him, 'Since you persevered and were not defeated, I will be your helper for ever'.¹⁰ Such assurance as a consequence to

perseverance in the battle against the Devil was to be a recurrent theme in monastic writing.

Secondly, Antony is reported teaching his listeners that there is no need to be amazed by demons, to pay any attention to them, or to obey them.¹¹ Despite their crashing sounds and hysterical laughter, if no heed is paid, they cry out, lamenting that they have been overcome.¹² The monk's weapons in the spiritual combat against the devil included his knowledge of Scripture. On more than one occasion, Antony's friends heard him singing psalms as he overpowered his opponent.¹³ The name of Christ alone was sufficient to vanquish the Devil who 'was unable to endure the scorching from it and vanished'.¹⁴ Again, when Antony reveals that he is 'a servant of Christ', the demons flee, 'being driven away from the remark as by a whip'.¹⁵ Another equally effective weapon against demonic apparitions from at least the fourth century onwards was the sign of the cross: Rising <from his work, Antony> saw a beast resembling a man down to the thigh but having the legs and feet of an ass. Antony, however,

simply made the sign of the cross, saying, 'I am a servant of Christ. If you have been sent out against me, see - here I am!' The beast with his demons fled so quickly that it fell and died. Its death marked the downfall of the demons, for they were eager to do anything to drive <Antony> away from the desert but were unable to do so. (VA, 53)

There are many examples from the period of the Desert Fathers onwards of demons attempting to deceive monks into believing that their dreams and visions were divinely inspired. In the *Life of Antony* Antony warns his brothers that demons try to deceive religious by joining in with the words of hymns and readings or arousing monks from their sleep:

Often, whilst remaining invisible, they pretend to chant psalms and spiritual hymns and recite Scripture. Even when we are reading, they are able to say immediately and repeatedly, as if in an echo, the same things that we have just read. While we are sleeping, they frequently wake us up for prayers, rarely allowing us to sleep. When they adopt the form of monks, it is possible for them to talk like the devout and by these means

they deceive, then lead those whom they have deceived wherever they wish. (VA, 25)

Everything they do - talking, creating disorder, assuming other forms and making disturbances - is intended to deceive the simple. (VA, 26)

As the ascetic sought spiritual illumination, it was not surprising that the Devil should transfigure itself into an angel of light. On one occasion, Pachomios (c.290-346), one of the founders of Christian coenobitic monasticism and Antony's contemporary, discerned that an appearance of Christ was no other than a demon who was attempting to deceive.¹⁶ Again, Antony's hagiographer describes how, one night, demons appeared to Antony, telling him that they had brought him light but his prayers 'put out the light of the irreverent ones.'¹⁷ Another night, the Devil assumed the form of a woman, imitating her every gesture, solely in order to beguile Antony but, turning his thoughts to Christ the hermit 'quenched the fire of his opponent's illusion.'¹⁸ Unable to confound Antony by appearing as a monk, or a light, or an attractive woman, the Devil, on another occasion, threw a huge silver dish in Antony's path but the latter, knowing the Devil's cunning, exclaimed, 'This is nothing but the craft of the Devil! You will not frustrate my intention by this! Take this with you to destruction!' and immediately the dish vanished 'like smoke from a fire.'¹⁹ 'Frequently, in the desert', Antony is reported to have told his disciples, '<the Devil> showed me an apparition of gold in order that I might simply see and touch it'.²⁰ 'The Devil has many ploys', said Amma Syncletica, one of the few female religious of the desert in Late Antiquity whose sayings are recorded. 'If he is unable to disturb the soul by means of poverty, he tries to lure it by means of wealth; if he does not overcome the soul by means of insults and disgrace, he tries to tempt it by praise and glory; if he cannot overpower the healthy, he makes the body ill; if he fails to seduce it through carnal pleasures, he tries to overthrow it through involuntary sufferings.'²¹ Antony reassures his audience that, although the Prince of demons appears, seeking to terrify, there was no need to be fearful of these deceptions.²²

Antony's hagiographer remarks, 'The enemy ... was apprehensive that before long Antony might fill the desert with the discipline <of

asceticism>'.²³ The Devil was right to be apprehensive: Antony and the other monks were gaining the upper hand and they were gaining it through asceticism. 'Why are the demons so frightened of you?' Abba Isidore, one of the heads of the Scetiotte communities at the time of Antony, was asked. 'The old man replied ... "Because I have practised asceticism since the day I became a monk."' ²⁴ At the heart of the ascetic life was the constant battle against the powers of evil. It was almost as if, the period of persecution coming to an end, the martyr's life was being imitated by religious. Antony was certainly one such bloodless martyr, acting as the martyrs had done and emulating their courage.

Many Christians had interpreted the power behind the persecutions as a demonic one, seeing their fight, not so much against the authority of the pagan Roman Empire itself, but rather against the Devil who, they believed, worked through such authority. During the ensuing period of comparative peace, this fight was interiorized into a combat against sin, the monk struggling in the desert against the same forces with which the Church struggled in the city. For this reason, the examples of Antony's life, closely resembling the martyrs in his own physical and mental suffering at the hands of the demons, and of his spiritual teaching had a deep effect on fourth-century asceticism in particular, and the *Life of Antony*, presenting these examples in a dramatic way enjoyed a lasting influence on medieval monasticism in general. Drawing on his own wealth of experiences, Antony taught and encouraged others how they, too, might recognize and rebuff demonic assaults. His hagiographer records:

Possessing the gift of discerning spirits (*χαρισμα διακρισεως πνευματων εχων*) ... not only did <Antony> himself not suffer any ridicule from <the demons> but, encouraging those who were distressed in their thoughts, he also taught them how to overturn the demons' plots, describing the weaknesses and treacheries of the ones who carried them out. (VA, 88)

Here was a mature spiritual father who was able to guide Christians in the early stages of their spiritual combat.

The Desert Fathers believed that they shared the world with malevolent demons and, according to his hagiographer, Antony taught that the traits of these demons were manifold:

There is a great multitude of them in the air round about us, and the difference between them is great. A discourse about their natures and distinctions would be lengthy, and such teaching is for others more advanced than us. At present, it is sufficient and necessary for us simply to know their unscrupulous tricks against us. (VA, 21)

The person with the gift of discernment, however, is able to recognize 'which of them are less wicked, and which are more, and in what kind of action each exerts itself, and how each is overcome and driven out.'²⁵ There was a need to discern, then, not only between divine and demonic spirits but also between different types of demonic spirit. The need was urgent and was addressed by Antony, whose *Life* makes a significant development from earlier writing on the subject which had concentrated on discerning between good and evil alone. 'Having had my share of trial from <demonic spirits>', he says, 'I address you as my children',²⁶ and proceeds to teach how men and women could discern between the divine and the demonic, and between the more and the less wicked. 'Discernment', Pseudo-Macarius, a fourth-century Syrian mystic, remarked, 'directs the whole soul together with the body as it passes through the brush and thorns of life, through the mud, fire and precipices', thereby preventing it from 'falling into a ravine or drowning in the waters',²⁷ or stumbling, as John Cassian (c.365-c.435) was to write, 'in a dark night amid gruesome shadows ... into dangerous pits and down steep slopes.'²⁸

Antony is reported urging his disciples to keep watch:

Let the contest be ours ... let us carefully keep watch and, as Scripture says, *keep your heart with all vigilance* (Prv. 4:23), for we have terrible and violent enemies, the evil demons, and, as the apostle <Paul> said, our contending is against these, *not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places* [Eph. 6:12]. (VA, 21)

According to the writer of the *Life of Antony*, Antony's criteria for discerning spirits is twofold: firstly, the response of the spirit itself in being asked, 'Who are you and where do you come from?', and,

secondly, the reaction that that spirit's answer arouses in the questioner:

Whenever some apparition takes place, do not fall down in terror but whatever it may be, first ask bravely, "Who are you and where do you come from?" If it is a vision of holy ones, they will give you full assurance and turn your fear into joy, but if it is of someone diabolical it immediately becomes weakened, on finding your spirit formidable. Simply by asking, "Who are you and where do you come from?", you demonstrate your calmness. (VA, 43)

Antony's explanation had an immediate and obvious effect on his audience:

When Antony talked about these things everybody rejoiced. In some, the love of virtue increased, in others, carelessness was thrown away, and in still others, conceit was ended. (VA, 44)

All were persuaded to hate the demonic cunning, marveling at the grace given by God to Antony for the discernment of spirits. (VA, 44)

Following Antony's discourse, life in the monastic cells resembled an earthly Paradise, and the passage ends with a description of an ecstatic vision from the Pentateuch [Num. 24:5-6].²⁹

How was the gift of discernment to be found and developed? Cassian records his older friend Germanus' question as they sat at the feet of the Desert Fathers, 'What we want to know is how to acquire <discernment ... the source and root of all the virtues>. How can we recognize something to be true and from God or false and from the Devil? ... What use is it for us to know the merit attached to the virtue and grace of discernment if we are unaware of how to find and acquire it?'³⁰ Antony provides an answer and treats the subject more thoroughly and vividly than any other patristic writer. In common with other desert religious, including Pachomios and Syncletica, Antony teaches that the gift of discernment is only received after much asceticism:

Much prayer and asceticism is needed so that the person who receives through the Spirit the gift of discrimination of spirits might be able to recognize their traits. (VA, 22)

and a letter of Athanasios (c.296-373) is only one among many in which monks were encouraged to pray in order that they may receive the gift of discerningspirits.³¹ In an open letter, Antony himself directs his disciples to ask others to pray for discernment:

Prepare yourselves, while you have intercessors to pray to God for your salvation, in order that He may pour into your hearts that fire which Jesus came to cast upon the earth [cf: Lk. 12:49], so that you may be able to exercise your hearts and senses, and know how to discern the good from the bad, the right from the left, reality from unreality.³²

It was a gift which required developing with the greatest care, for monks could all too easily lose it through pride, self-regard, negligence, or sloth. A conversation between two demons is recorded in the *First Greek Life of Pachomios*, one failing to attack an ascetic, the other finding an easy target in an inattentive monk:

I have often heard demons speaking of their ploys against people in the following manner: one would say, "I am assigned to a difficult man. When I suggest an evil thought to him, he immediately stands to pray and I go out ablaze"; but the other replies, "Mine is easy. He listens to me and does whatever I suggest to him; I love him very much." Keep watch yourselves constantly, therefore, and sign yourselves in the name of Christ. (Pachomios, 73)

For Cassian, discernment was found in humility and he cites the boy Samuel as an example. Through humility, he argues, we acquire discernment, which can keep us safe from excess.³³ On the other hand, too much asceticism and insufficient discernment was fatal. In another letter, Antony warns his brothers that there are many who have pursued too rigorous an ascetic life and 'lack of discernment killed them.'³⁴ An anonymous apophthegm records, 'Many have injured their bodies without discernment.'³⁵ Cassian relates how two brothers, travelling across the desert, resolved they would only eat what the Lord

provided. Weakened and wasted by hunger, they were spotted by people who had a reputation for savagery and cruelty yet rushed towards the two men carrying bread. One of the men accepted it, rejoicing that God had acted through these men. The other refused, sticking to his presumption that God alone would feed him and because of his lack of discernment, died.³⁶ Cassian encourages his brothers, 'With discernment, it is possible to reach the utmost heights with the minimum of exhaustion. Without it, there are many who, despite the intensity of their struggle, have been quite unable to arrive at the summit of perfection.'³⁷ It was a case, as Antony himself said, of 'bending the bow without breaking it'.³⁸

In its presentation of Antony's life and teaching, the *Life of Antony* gives religious exemplary roles as models for the virtuous life. The work was avowedly written at the request of monks so that they might lead themselves 'in imitation of <him>':

I know that even in hearing, along with marveling at the man, you will also want to emulate his purpose, for Antony's way of life provides monks with a sufficient picture for ascetic practice. (VA, Introduction)

In his closing chapter, Antony's hagiographer urges his brothers to

Read these things to the other brothers in order that they too may learn what the life of monks ought to be and believe that Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ glorifies those who glorify Him, not only leading those who serve Him to the end into the Kingdom of Heaven, but even here, though they conceal themselves and seek to retreat, making them known and celebrated everywhere, on account of their own virtue and assistance to others. (VA, 94)

The work, however, was not written for the sole purpose of teaching monks. In the same chapter, the writer adds:

If the opportunity arises, read this also to the pagans, so that they may understand by these means that Our Lord Jesus Christ is God and Son of God, and, moreover, that christians who are sincerely devoted to Him and truly believe in Him not only prove that demons, whom the Greeks consider to be gods, are

not gods at all, and trample and chase them away as deceivers and corrupters of mankind. (VA, 94)

There is much evidence to show that, in addition to the *Life*, Antony's gift of discernment was well known in the desert. In one of the *apophthegmata* concerning Antony, it is recorded how discernment saved monks from being impressed by demonic predictions, a particularly dangerous and subtle ability, especially when such predictions turned out to be true:

Some monks came, looking for Abba Antony, in order to tell him about the visions they were experiencing and find out from him if these were divine or demonic. They had a donkey which died on the way. When they reached the place where the old man was, and before they could tell him anything, he inquired, "How did the little donkey die on the way here?" They replied, "How did you know about that, father?" and he told them, "The demons revealed what happened to me." So they said, "That was the purpose of our visit, in case we were being deceived, for we have experienced visions which often turn out to be true." The old man, therefore, convinced them, by the example of the donkey, that their visions had indeed come from demons. (*Sayings*, Antony 12)

It seems that Antony handed on to his disciples an understanding and appreciation of the gift of discernment. Quoting from a passage in the anonymous letter to the Hebrews [5:14] in one of his own letters, Abba Ammonas (d. before 396), one of Antony's foremost disciples, writes that the senses of the perfect man are exercised to discern good and evil.³⁹ In another apophthegm, Ammonas likens discernment to an axe which brings down a tree with a few blows.⁴⁰ The late fourth-century *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* also notes that:

When <Pityrion> succeeded Antony and his disciple Ammonas, it was appropriate that he also should have inherited their spiritual gifts. He delivered many discourses to us on a variety of topics but taught with particular authority on the discernment of spirits.⁴¹

Many fifth-century *apophthegmata* also mention discernment in connection with Antony and his disciples.

Antony's influence was lasting. Not only did the church historians Palladius (c.364-between 420 and 430), Socrates (c.380-450), Theodoret (c.393-c.460) and Sozomen (early 5th. cent.) describe his visionary experiences and teaching in detail but his fame continued throughout the Middle Ages. As late as 1260, the Dominican, James of Voragine (c.1230-98), included many examples of Antony's discernment in his *Legenda Aurea*. Discernment continued to be an important and integral part of spiritual teaching in the east, whilst Cassian introduced Egyptian monastic practices to the west which were taken as the basis of many western *Rules*, including the *Rule of St Benedict*.

I have left on one side the search for influences on the *Life of Antony* which may be discovered outside the fourth century and have found instead something of what lies behind the work in the fourth century itself. It is, perhaps, more useful for the historian to approach the hagiography, not so much as a product of a literary tradition, but rather as a revelation of its own time and place. With this approach, something of the originality and strength of Antony's life and his hagiographer's writing hopefully remains intact. As Roman rule was gradually beginning to decline, the Egyptian desert was starting to give birth to monastic movements which offered men and women a God-centred alternative to society in the cities. In Antony, perhaps more than in any other Desert Father, we find a profoundly ascetic man who, although no politician or religious organizer, still had a deep and lasting influence on Christian monasticism and spirituality throughout the Middle Ages, arguably because of his discernment of the divine and demonic, and in the *Life of Antony* we find a primacy given to discernment not afforded elsewhere in late antique or early medieval writing.

NOTES

¹ Homer, *The Iliad*, A.T. Murray ed. and transl., Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1924 and 1925, 13:72. The Biblical translations in this article are from the *Revised Standard Version*; others are my own.

² Homer, *The Odyssey*, A.T. Murray ed. and transl., rev. G.E. Dimock, Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1913 and 1919, 13: 301.

³ Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, F.C. Conybeare ed. and transl., Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1912 (rev. 1950), 7: 32.

⁴ Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life*, J. Dillon and J. Herschbell ed. and transl., Atlanta (Ga), Scholars Press, 1991, c.16.

⁵ *Vita Antonii*, G.J.M. Bartelink ed and French transl., Paris, 1994 (*Sources Chrétiennes* 400); 35. Hereafter referred to as VA. A new English translation by T. Vivian of the Greek and Coptic versions of the *Life of Antony* is forthcoming.

⁶ Diadochos of Photiki, *Capita Gnostica*, E. des Places ed. and French transl., Paris, 1966 (*Sources Chrétiennes* 5). English transl. by G.E.H. Palmer, P. Sherrard and K. Ware, London, Faber and Faber, 1979; 37. Hereafter referred to as Diadochos.

⁷ VA, 5.

⁸ VA, 31.

⁹ VA, 63, 64 and 71.

¹⁰ VA, 10.

¹¹ VA, 24, 25, 31 and 33.

¹² VA, 26.

¹³ VA, 13 and 39.

¹⁴ VA, 41.

¹⁵ VA, 52.

¹⁶ *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae*, ed. F. Halkin, Brussels, 1932 (*Subsidia Hagiographica* 19); 87. Hereinafter referred to as Pachomios.

¹⁷ VA, 39.

¹⁸ VA, 5.

¹⁹ VA, 11.

²⁰ VA, 40.

²¹ *Apophthegmata Patrum Collectio Graeca alphabetica*, *Patrologia Graeca*, 65. English translation by B. Ward, London, Mowbrays, 1979 (Hereafter referred to as *Sayings*), *Syncletica* 7.

²² VA, 24 and 27.

²³ VA, 8.

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- ²⁴ *Sayings*, Isidore, 2.
- ²⁵ VA, 22.
- ²⁶ VA, 22.
- ²⁷ Pseudo-Macarius, *Homiliae Spirituales*, PG 34; English translation by G.A. Maloney, Mahwah (N.J.), Paulist Press, 1992; 4:3.
- ²⁸ John Cassian, *Conlationes*, ed. E. Pichery, Paris, 1955-59 (*Sources Chrétiennes* 42, 54 and 64); English translation by C. Luibheid, Mahwah (N.J.), Paulist Press, 1985 (hereinafter referred to as Cassian); 2:1.
- ²⁹ VA, 44.
- ³⁰ Cassian, 2:9.
- ³¹ Athanasius, *Epistulae festales*, PG 26.
- ³² Antony, *Epistulae*, PG 40; English translation by D. Chitty, Oxford, Fairacres, 1975 (hereinafter referred to as Antony, *Letters*); 3.
- ³³ Cassian, 2:14, 10.
- ³⁴ Antony, *Letters*, 6.
- ³⁵ *Apophthegmata Patrum Collectio Systematica Latina, Patrologia Latina* 73. English translation by B. Ward, Oxford, Fairacres, 1975 (rev. 1986); n.90.
- ³⁶ Cassian, 2:6.
- ³⁷ Cassian, 2:4.
- ³⁸ *Sayings*, Antony 13.
- ³⁹ Ammonas, *Epistulae, Patrologia Orientalis* 11. English translation by D. Chitty, Oxford, Fairacres, 1979; n.11.
- ⁴⁰ *Sayings*, Poemen 52.
- ⁴¹ *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, Brussels, 1961 (*Subsidia Hagiographica* 34); revised with French transl., Brussels, 1971 (*Subsidia Hagiographica* 53). English translation by N. Russell, London, Mowbrays, 1981; c.15, 'On Pityrion'.